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between the South and this place? Was there any mistake made during the recent period in which youths were sent to the rural villages? Will the commencement of land reform in rural villages where conditions permit take greater effect? How carry out the work in the cities in South China at present?

United Front

- a. What are the views on the United Front after reading the report issued in November last year by Comrade X X on "Carrying out the revolutionary war to the end", letter issued to the peasant by the Shansi-Suiyuan Border Region, Chairman MAO's report of 1st April and JEN Pi-shih's (任弼時) report?
- b. The principle of the work of the United Front is 'to develop progressive influence, fight for middle-of-the-road influence and isolate-the-hard influence'. Did we violate this principle in our work on the United Front?
- c. The wider the sphere of the United Front the better. We should include in it all those who agree to oppose CHIANG and America and who favor land reform. Have we been violating this ruling in the work on the United Front? Have we discarded those who should have been included?
- d. What should be the policy of the work on the United Front? Have we been making mistakes in dealing with certain incidents or persons? If there are mistakes, how should we admit them and what attitude should be adopted?

Party

- a. By complying with the opinion of the masses, does it mean that we are following the so-called (correct?) route?
- b. On one hand, respect the opinion of the masses and on the other realize party leadership. How should these points be attended to without being involved in immaturity or letting the party be dominated by the masses?
- c. What is the difference between 'waiting patiently for them to come to knowledge' and 'allowing them to take their own course heedlessly'? What is the definite connection between the two?
- d. Is there an incorrect tendency in the work of the Party at present? (such as aiming at injury to a cause or retaliation instead of strengthening unity and improving the work. This causes further alienation).

Propaganda

- a. Is the party's policy being propagated in many newspapers, magazines and publications?
- b. With importance attached to a certain period and, a certain place (the original reads 'This time, this place'), will the whole situation be overlooked?
- c. Is there any irregularity in the division of labor in connection with the various publications?
- d. Which are the documents violating the party's policy and which are those resorting to abuse and reason?

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Hua Shang* published article on K's economic collapse in six months.

The Nan Kuo (南 國) problem was neglected in the initial stage.

The Chung Kung (中 工) (Chinese Labor?) Problem has become the tail of the masses.

Chung Lien Hui (中 聯 會) (Chinese Federation?) Published songs, neglecting 'This time, this place'.

To 'Chung Pao' (中 報) and YANG Tao-chih (楊 道 軌) MAO (MAO Tun?) neglected 'This time, this place'. (sic)

(Chop) LAN Kung-chang (藍 拱 章)

Section B

- a. The present situation in Kwangtung. A comparison of the strength of the various classes reveals that the enemy is stronger than we are. But in the military, we are placed in a better position than the enemy whose strength is depleted. They have not been able to solve the problems concerning military replacements and economic supplies.

Our liberated areas have not yet been linked together and there are no bases. It is impossible to establish a strong military force.

In carrying out boldly and extensively, the various conditions have to be observed.

- b. The main object and the route to be followed in guerrilla warfare. We strongly believe that we have means of accomplishing our tasks. The situation in South China and that of the whole country. (Their connection with the main force moving south.) The first step in the present work is to rectify the leftist adventurist tendency. D. (Party?) should imbue the cadres of the various classes with the spirit and ideas of Central** regarding how to perform the work. Such as military principles, land reform and united front. To obtain a better knowledge of MAO's ideas. To eliminate.....

Not too much to the left nor to the right.

Attack and defense.

Comparison of strength.

The connection between the various places and branches throughout the country.

Crossing the river.

Width and depth.

Will American Imperialism take active part in a war against the Chinese people's armed force?

Will there be serious complications in the future of Kwangtung?

Section C

TA (達): Cities are the concentration points of imperialism whereas the rural villages lie scattered. Naturally there is connection in the work between them. Although the present armed struggle in the rural villages is of great importance, the ultimate victory in the Revolution cannot be won with the omission of the cities. The work of the cities is the rear (backbone) of the armed struggle of the rural villages.

GHI (啓): Why should the rural villages be the chief target? Because

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The primary object of the Chinese Revolution is to liberate the peasants. A special feature in China is that the cities rely on the rural villages where the strength of Imperialism is weak. Imperialist aggression upon China is due to the conspiracy of feudal influence. It is important to keep up the work in the cities consistently with that of the rural villages. In the final overthrow of imperialism and feudalism, the struggle for cities will be of great importance.

LIN (林): Is the regular course of the developments in China the encircling of cities by rural villages?

TA: Encirclement of cities by rural villages is the idea of Chairman MAO. Chinese society is semi-feudal and semi-colonial. The population of the rural villages is the greatest. The cities are the strongest bases of the reactionary group. We must first attack the weak - the rural villages, and then the strong - the cities.

In China why should the cities be encircled by the rural villages and why should the present struggle aim at the rural villages?

By studying the characteristics of Chinese society, we may know that Chinese society is a semi-feudal agricultural and semi-colonial one.

CHI: Characteristics of Chinese society. The rural villages have the thickest population and are economically disintegrated. All changes and revolutions in history were conducted in the rural villages. The strength of imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism in the rural villages is the weakest.

LIN: In China, cities and rural villages are dependent on one another economically. In the backward rural economy, there are inadequate communications, feudal domination, and disputes among factions. The population of the peasants is great and they (the peasants) have a wide and deep-rooted difference with the feudal influence. The strength of the reactionaries in the cities is great.

CHI: The question of geography is also of great importance. Why must the cities be taken before complete victory can be won?

TA: It is to eliminate the influence of the reactionary remnants.

LIN: The problems concerning the rural villages and the cities do not conflict with one another. When economy and reconstruction are developed to a certain extent, they may be linked together.

CHI: The industrial foundation of the cities will play an important part in industry, economy and reconstruction after the complete victory in the Chinese Revolution.

TA: The rural villages are the front line of the armed struggle and the cities the rear. The cities should make every effort to support the struggle in the rural villages.

K: The policy of the rural armed struggle is to develop boldly and extensive guerrilla warfare and mass struggle. The cities should develop mass struggle in support of the rural villages.

L: The policy of the work of the rural villages is to develop guerrilla warfare, spur the masses on, link up occupied areas, establish bases, democratic governments and a strong military force. The work of the cities is to promote the mass movement, cultivate cadres, transport cadres to the

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rural villages, continuously arouse the masses, strengthen organization and help the rural villages to solve problems relating to resources, economy and cadres. The work of the rural villages is to expedite the mass movement in the cities.

CHI: Cities in the North can be liberated easier than those in the South.

L: Before our strength has gained absolute superiority throughout the country our strategic policy is to eliminate the enemy's fighting force and not to occupy big cities. For instance, although we are in a partial superior position in the Northeast we have not yet launched the final all-out attack on Shenyang (Manchuria) and Changchun. But in North China the relation between the rural villages and the cities will be changed earlier than in the South. At present cities in the North have been encircled by the rural villages whereas those in the South have not.

D: The request for the abandonment of work of the overseas newspapers in order to provide men for work in the rural villages is inappropriate.

K: The reason for the amalgamation of the two overseas newspapers is to save manpower for the rural villages. If masses could be found to run them, they may not be amalgamated. To esteem the work of the rural villages is fundamentally correct but to split up the work and return to the rural villages will slacken the working spirit. Some students absented themselves from schools and examinations and/or deserted their families in order to return to the village. Their guardians took up the matter with the school authorities, asking for the return of their wards.

D: When the question of Brother Tung's () return to the village was brought up, he had an unclear mind. He wrote to his father expressing his intention, and eventually at the end of last year, he decided not to go.

L: "Return-to-the-village mobilization". Certain schools mobilized a number of girl students. Some of them absented themselves from schools and examinations. But later on they were told that they were not required. Some did not wish to return to the villages but preferred to go abroad.

K: In order to enforce land reform, there must be areas where there will be military protection for the organizing force of the masses. At discussions in the the past, a land reform in Kwangtung was regarded as applicable. We know the object of the land reform is to mobilize the peasants to take part in the campaign against CHIANG. When carrying it out, we esteem the elimination of the feudal system but not the encroachment upon the interests of the middle peasants and the new rich peasants. The land reform, being an important item in the new democratic revolution should be carried out as soon as possible in areas where conditions permit.

D: There must be fortified bases adjoining the conditional areas before land reform can be introduced. An isolated area is exposed to danger.

K: Was the policy carried out properly or not. The failure of the land reform in the South Route was probably due to the mis-management of the policy.

P: On one hand there is the condition for enforcement of the policy, and on the other there is the question of how to carry it out. When the question was brought up, the former was over-emphasized. According to the general situation concerning guerrilla warfare in Kwangtung, land reform cannot be introduced. In certain areas, such as Kuangning the enemy employ an immense force to carry out suppression. Is that what we call broadening the sphere of attack? When the enemy's strength is concentrated on an attack, then we have to abandon activities.

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What are the conditions for carrying out land reform? Do these conditions exist in Kwangtung in general or in any place in particular? When such conditions exist in a certain area, should land reform be carried out independently? The question of overseas Chinese in the land reform.

K: When the enemy's strength has been caused to concentrate at one place, it will offer an opportunity to accelerate developments in other places. With victories won at these places we can draw closer to the people and it is favorable to us.

L: As conditions in Kwangtung do not permit the enforcement of land reform, it should not be carried out; nor should the distribution of wealth and food. The direct object of land reform is to begin with the interests of the people who demand reduction of rent and interest. By using this slogan 'reduction of rent and interest' we can mobilize and organize them. But in areas where conditions permit, such as Kuangning, importance should be attached on how to carry out the policy properly and not on the abrogation or rectification of land reform work.

D: After reading 'Fighting to the end' (an article?) the Chinese middle people will know clearly about the fight against the die-hards. It gives a clear and correct view on unity and struggle. Formerly some one thought either Li X X or FENG X X would become Chairman of the Coalition Government. After reading the article they knew they were in the wrong. From the letter to the peasants it is noticeable that the Party has made progress in the mass route. Those who did not wish to participate in the struggle because of the question of their livelihood now understand that when the livelihood of the masses is settled no question will arise regarding their own.

D: After reading the letter to peasants, there comes a question: 'Is the United Front still required?' According to some people, without the participation of the landlords, there will be no United Front. They consider this incorrect as the foundation of the United Front of the rural villages is based on the middle peasants who make up 20 per cent of the population. In order to carry out land reform successfully, the middle peasants must be united. This is a biased view. Later it was understood that apart from the middle peasants, there are the liberal capitalists and intelligentsia.

P: The present discussion is to clarify these questions: The United Front concerns tactics and not strategy and the identification of allied troops. The definition of classes is still unclear. Regarding the United Front, some one has simplified the matter by saying: "They do not come themselves and we have not discarded them." After reading the letter to peasants a serious change has taken place in their thoughts. They know that as soon as the people rise, there will be some measures. The April 1st report shows that the letter to peasants indicates a tendency towards domination by the masses. The questions of middle peasants and rich peasants was clarified after reading the definition of classes. The question of overseas petty landlords. They should be liquidated in the same manner. In JEN's (任) report, the restriction on classes is not so strict as before. There has been a better understanding on the procedure of land reform. Formerly the people's capitalists were regarded as the upper stratum of the middle and petty capitalists. Their status in the United Front is unclear. MAO's definition on what the masses are composed of has extenuated the restrictions and clarified the matter. Formerly there was a tendency towards the left, and critics on FENG's (冯) literature was welcomed.

K: Why is the desertion of the middle peasants a deciding factor in the course of the revolution? (1) They do not exploit. (2) After the overthrow of the rich peasants, they will occupy an important position technically in production. (3) The poor peasants will be promoted middle

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peasants. Although there is only 20 per cent of them, they will increase rapidly and will become the majority. Their demand (political) to the new democratic stage is the same as that of the proletarians. Their production will play an important part in the new democratic economy and reconstruction.

D: Under the new democracy, the middle peasants will become rich peasants very quickly. The new rich peasants will have a strong effect on economy and reconstruction under new democracy. WU Man-yu (吴满有) is a poor tenant peasant but he has a determination stronger than the middle peasants. The standard of knowledge and culture of the middle peasants is good. They are sensible to political problems. If we do not get them they will go over to the enemy's camp. It is a serious loss.

D: Under the principles of the United Front, we must strive for middle influence. We must strive for the middle peasants as they are the middle influence. Politically the poor peasants are not so sensible as the middle peasants. MAN is a poor tenant peasant but wants the poor peasants to rank with the middle peasants. Some of the middle peasants are also being exploited and therefore we must strive for them and get them united.

K: Middle peasants are the progressive influence and not the middle influence.

L: The desertion of the middle peasants is a deciding factor in the Revolution because the middle peasants are the toiling masses who do not exploit. They are the petty capitalists who form the majority of the country's population. To disappoint the middle peasants, it will mean alienating the petty capitalist from us and frustrating the hope of the poor tenant peasants for a bright future. The revolution is to develop production and improve livelihood. If the middle peasants who live on their own means are to be disappointed, why should there be a revolution? The revolution does not over-rate the poor nor adopt the principle of absolutism. The middle peasants are shaky and therefore should be given careful protection. Disappointment to the new rich peasants will scare the middle peasants.

K: In the talk on the 1st of April it was suggested that in the course of the land reform the people's representative conference for districts and villages should be formed when possible. At present the liberated areas in North China have resolved to convene a People's Representative Conference to form a coalition government. What are the elements in the United Front waiting to participate in the Government. Their qualifications should be decided on their merits.

P: Introduce a set of new measures at the discussion of the North China People's Representative Conference. It is different from the Northeast Political Committee which is on a transitional basis. It is a further step towards the new political reconstruction. On the United Front we should take concrete action to strengthen the belief of the people, and prove that our words and deeds coincide.

L: A representative meeting should be held first in North China to form a coalition government. Because the area is in the center, any blame put on the Soviet by the enemy under some excuse, as in the case of the Northeast, can be avoided. It will more seriously affect Nanking, Shanghai, South and Southwest China. To summons the Representative Conference, incite and urge the progressive masses to participate and frustrate all the enemy's attempts at spreading rumor and slander.

D: In a letter to the overseas Min Chih (民治)*** Headquarters, CHU X X (朱) and others suggested responding to the appeal for a New Political Consultative Conference, saying that they would be excluded if there was a

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delay. In the reply, they agreed in principle but would not make an open declaration before ascertaining the strength of the two sides. Recently an express letter was issued and a five-man section formed to struggle against the reactionary clique.

K: The problem concerning lands of the overseas Chinese. How deal with the land of the overseas Chinese which have been bought with money accumulated and earned from hard labor. How deal with fields in the village owned by overseas Chinese who have obtained their money by exploitation.

D: Are overseas Chinese compradores? Do compradores include those who have worked hard and accumulated a capital with which they conduct speculative business?

K: Those maintaining close economic connection with the imperialists are compradores. Compradores working in office who buy or sell goods for the imperialists are also compradores. HU Wen-hu (AW Boon Haw) is a compradore.

P: There are only a few compradores among the overseas Chinese. Laundries and cafes are excluded but certain import and export firms come under this category. Very few of them are direct agents of the Imperialists. The capitalist class is the compradore class.

K: The majority of the overseas Chinese are petty capitalists. How should they be dealt with if they are unwilling to contribute? Overseas Chinese are of the exploiting class. Their land should be dealt with in accordance with the agrarian law. How should their wealth and property abroad be dealt with?

L: The purchase of fields and opening of business in the country should be granted and protected. Overseas Chinese owning industries and business do not possess much land in the rural villages. Apart from the distribution of land, the movable assets must not be touched. Their families in the village depend on the fields for their subsistence. If they are willing to toil, they should be given the land they are entitled to. Some of the overseas Chinese toiling masses have a small number of fields which are rented to others. On return to their village they have to till their own fields to maintain their living. While they are away these fields should be taken care of by the Peasants' Association and returned to them on their return. This does not apply to fields which are being tilled by the owners' relatives. Is this a correct policy? In contacting returned overseas Chinese and their families, steps should be taken to obtain their views. Among the overseas Chinese there are very few big compradores. Overseas Chinese compradores only act as accomplices in oppressing the local people. Excepting a minority who directly conspire with the Imperialists, they cannot be included in the compradore class.

P: Definition of the overseas newspapers. (1) Kuanchung (Masses). Who are the progressive, middle, or die-hard elements? Middle - Hung (洪) (His father is a member of the five-man section.) YI (益) TING (定). Hung's elder brother. The Democratic League is progressive.

D: Those agreeing to our policy and determinedly carrying it out are progressive elements. Hung X is not a middle but a progressive element. PAN (潘), Ting (鼎), MBI Tai Li (吳戴泰), LIN Chien-fu (林健夫), LI Chung-tang (李仲棠), HSU Ping-heng (許炳衡), and HUANG Mei-kuei (黃美桂). Middle such as X X later struggled against the agent of the die-hards at Singapore. Those who oppose CHIANG and America but do not agree with the recovery of the people are die-hards. In fact they have an illusion of the ruling class. Progressive elements (the overseas newspaper

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Kuan Chung). The classification of elements should not be too strict (do not classify progressive elements as middle elements). LEI X X (雷) of the Four Districts (Emping, Kaiping, Taishan, Hsinhui). Industrial and Commercial Association belongs to the die-hard clique.

K: Laborer, peasants, intelligentsia and the lower stratum of the middle peasants and the petty capitalists are the progressive force. Rich peasants of rural villages, liberal capitalists, upper stratum of the petty capitalists and liberal vocationists are the middle elements. Big landlords, big capitalists and the opposition clique are the die-hards. Classification is based chiefly on politics and then on economics. An error in the classification will result in a serious effect. Politically they can be changed and divided into leftist and rightist. For instance, MA X T'sang (馬 × 德) of the middle 'group' (?) is inclined to the left and CHOU X X (周) to the right. LI X X (李) is a die-hard. Is CHU (朱) a progressive element? It is doubtful. Renders aid to the newspaper but is shaky. Does a middle element incline to the left? Is Ting (丁) progressive? Pending confirmation, he is doubtful. Is Po (波) progressive? PAN (潘)? Next, observation has to be kept from the economic viewpoint. LEI X Sun (雷 × 孫), middle.

L: What is the definition of middle? The definition is to be based on class foundation, political attitude and history. Rich peasants, enlightened gentries, liberal capitalists belong to the middle (group). Some liberal vocationists belong to the petty capitalist class and others to the upper stratum of the petty capitalist class; the latter belong to the middle. Middle peasants do not belong to the middle as they are petty capitalists who may go over to the communist society. The die-hards are the big landlords, big capitalists and the opposition clique who oppose CHIANG but not his system. They still intend to conspire with the imperialists.

Compilation Committee: CHANG (張)
 MIU (繆) Chief (editor?)
 MA (馬), publisher
 Peng (彭), president
 Yuan (元), manager
 YI (逸)
 HSU (許)

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\$3,000.00 collected before 15 October.

7/10.

4 times monthly (meetings?)

Business twice

Investigation and discussion, once.

Practice, once.

Section D

Landlords, big, middle, petty, big and petty bullies, traitors, gentries, armed landlords, pao chia system, secret service.

Rich peasants, new and old styles.

Middle peasants and rich middle peasants.

Poor tenant peasants.

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Letter to peasants.

Poor tenant peasants in charge of families, politically and economically.
 Relation between party members and masses - not to place them above the masses but to keep them under the supervision of the masses. The party will then be closer to the masses.

How to calculate landlords and rich peasants.

Organization of the peasants' association.

How to distribute fields and movable assets.

Poor peasants' corps.

Enforcement of democracy.

How to treat cadres.

United to oppose the enemy.

A few questions regarding land reform.

1. How to define classes. Error in definition, object, area and strength.
2. United middle peasants. Why should they be united? What was the past error. How could they be united successfully?
3. Measures for the struggle against landlords and rich peasants. The chief measures and the object to be attained. How to classify and deal with landlords and rich peasants.
4. Industrial and commercial policies. In the south those who sell their lands for industry and commerce should be welcomed.

Section E

Army. 4,000 odd

154B, 22R, 23, 24, 25, 26R

Brigadier CHANG I-chung (張一中)

153B, 19, 20, 21R total 1,800 proposed to expand to a D.

131B, 43R, 44R, 45 (newly organized), 46R (newly organized), 800 odd.

CHANG Chi-chung (張其中)

Gendarme 25R 1,300 odd men.

Communication Police 3 big squads actual strength 200 odd men and 1 main squad.

Salt Guards (1 regiment), 1,200 men, under training.

Taxation (Police) Regiment, in the course of organization, 2,000.

2nd regiment under the direct command of Pacification Bureau 1,300.

Provincial Police, 2 big squads. Swatow, 240; Canton, 180.

Police & Peace Preservation

10 Peace Preservation Corps, estimated strength 17,000; actual strength 8,000.

10 to 15 Peace Preservation Corps under training.

11 Peace Preservation Battalions under the Police Peace Preservation

Headquarters, 3,200 men.

District & Municipal Police & Peace Preservation, 86 big squads (including district police and joint defense corps).

6 middle squads, 51 police detective squads (including criminal police).

11 Water police squads.

53 People's Self-defense squads.

36 independent district and municipal middle squads.

Chairman, Board of Directors, MEI Wen-ting (梅文鼎).

Directors: LI Hai-feng (李海峯), CHU Shao-wen (朱灼文), HSIEN Hung-hui (謝洪憲), CHEN Lien-shih (陳連時).

Supervisors: CHEN Ting-hua (陳定華), HSIEN I-shen (謝益深).

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Po Fu (百福) Goldsmith Shop. Shanghai Street.

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* [REDACTED] Comment. This is certainly a reference to the Hua Shang Pao, Hong Kong Communist newspaper.

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* [REDACTED] Comment. Probably a reference to the Central Committee of the CCP.

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*** [REDACTED] Comment. Probably the Man Chi Tang.

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*** [REDACTED] Comment. Nei TAI Li would mean "American TAI Li," TAI Li being the late head of the Bureau of Information and Statistics.

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